Whose "Shame," Mr. Dewey?—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

*September 24, 1949*

# The Fall of Sterling

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

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# Florida's Legal Lynching

BY TED POSTON

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Politics and the High Court - - - - - - *Robert Bendiner*

Postscript on Spain - - - - - - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Science and Literature - - - - - - - *Joseph Wood Krutch*

"The U.A.W. and Reuther" - - - *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.*

Will Europe Go Right? II - - - - - - *Alexander Werth*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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# The Shape of Things

NO DOUBT SENATOR CONNALLY TALKED out of turn when, at a private luncheon for Mr. Bevin and the British Ambassador, he spoke of the United States and Britain controlling the destiny of the world. Other adherents of the Atlantic Pact, not to mention the general membership of the United Nations, may not take this suggestion kindly. But if the Senator was tactless in his post-prandial eloquence, he was not necessarily untruthful. For the fact is that, so far as we have a consistent foreign policy, its aim is a Pax Anglo-Americana. Prophets of the American Century, as well as the still cruder nationalists of the McCormick stripe, may contest the necessity for accepting Britain even as a junior partner; British imperialists like Lord Beaverbrook resent the fact that America is now the senior member of the firm; and many British Socialists dislike a close relationship with the leading capitalist nation. Yet despite much uneasiness on both sides, the partnership tends to grow more intimate. The United States, for all its economic and military strength, is not ready to police and finance the globe on its own; and overcrowded Britain, dependent as it is on world trade, can neither retreat into neutral self-sufficiency nor afford to organize a third world to compete with those dominated by America and the Soviet Union.

*

THESE CONSIDERATIONS EXPLAIN WHY London and Washington worked hard to ease Anglo-American tensions in the weeks preceding the Tripartite Conference and why the United States government has been willing to consider Britain's economic difficulties as a special case which can justifiably be tackled outside the framework of aid to Europe. Those difficulties, attributable in part to very heavy international responsibilities undertaken in agreement with this country, have threatened to reduce Britain's value as an ally. Hence the recent Washington talks were designed not merely to "save Britain" but, as Bevin emphasized at a final press conference, to lay sound economic foundations for joint political and military security programs. Whether the published agreement plus cheaper sterling are adequate for this purpose is a matter of controversy. Two points, however, deserve to be stressed. First, the conferees agreed on arrangements for informal but continuous Anglo-American-Canadian consultations on economic questions affecting the three countries—a decision which appears to offer something like a guaranty that Britain will not be abandoned to sink or swim on its own. Second, ways and means are to be sought to make possible a larger American contribution to the development of economically backward countries in the sterling area, support of which has become too heavy a burden for Britain.

*

BUT EVEN A SUPERFICIAL LOOK AT THE MAP of Britain's areas of interest reveals the dangers that lurk in such a program. American aid means one thing if it serves to lift part of the weight of sterling indebtedness, in India or Burma, from the backs of the British people. It meant something quite different in Greece; and every day brings new evidences that in the Middle East—where British financial help has traditionally been used to reinforce the control of native despots in return for bases and rather unreliable political favors—the United States intends to take over. The investigations of the excellent Goldon Clapp may yield a plan for bringing into use neglected but potentially valuable lands in Israel and Arab states; they may also lead to American exploitation of that area on terms which have more direct relevance to the cold war than to the resettling of refugees or to economic development of the Middle East. If a Pax Anglo-Americana is to be more than a vast extension of American economic power or the subsidizing of a miserable status quo, then its initial steps, possibly agreed upon last week in Washington, had better be closely watched.

*

WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED FOR them by the New York State Legislature and the Board of Regents, Dr. William Jansen and his colleagues on the New York City Board of Education have worked out a comparatively temperate method of applying the Feinberg loyalty law for teachers and other public-school employees. But the statute itself is a repressive measure, driven through a hysterical Legislature and hastily signed by Governor Dewey in spite of a mounting protest. As a result, even the most reasonable application of it can serve only to reduce the timid teacher to immobility and to force his courageous fellow out of his chosen profession. For example, Dr. Jansen would have every school employee's "loyalty" or "subversion" reported upon periodically by his next immediate superior—

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principals will report on teachers, assistant superintendents on principals, and so on right up the line to the Superintendent himelf, who will be reported on by the Board of Education. Lists of the "loyal" are to go up through channels, but reports on those whose loyalty is in doubt must be prepared "without the aid of stenographic or other clerical help" and mailed separately. Aside from the fantastic paperwork involved—there are 40,000 public-school employees in the city—the impossibility of enforcing the law with fairness is apparent: while a worthy effort has been made to preserve the anonymity of the suspect, it is vitiated by the fact that mere absence of a name from the non-secret list of the loyal is enough to start tongues wagging. But worst of all are the broad and terrifying criteria of "subversion," which range from membership in an organization blacklisted by the Regents to "the writing of articles, the distribution of pamphlets, the endorsement of speeches . . . or articles . . . or acts performed by others" which "may constitute subversive activity." Surely, no such procedure—and no such law which generated it—is constitutionally valid. This feeling is shared with us by as conservative a voice as that of the New York *Times*, not to mention those on the left. The sooner the courts act, the better.

*

NOTHING COULD BE MORE UNREALISTIC than the United Nations Conciliation Commission's recommendations on Jerusalem. In reverting to the statute adopted by the Trusteeship Council in 1947, the commission has overlooked the fact that a war has intervened. As the New York *Herald Tribune* said last week, "It was the Israeli army and not the U. N. which saw to it that the partition of Palestine became a reality." Today the Arab Legion still holds the Old City, while the rest of Jerusalem, 95 per cent Jewish, has survived and maintained its independence through a bitter siege and at a terrible cost in lives and property. Today it is economically as well as emotionally bound to the rest of Israel. To attempt to unite the city under U. N. authority would require an army prepared to fight both Jews and Arabs. Since no such force exists and since no important interest would be served by the internationalization of the Jerusalem area, it is hard to understand why the conciliation commission put forward such an unworkable plan. Presumably the Vatican was the chief active influence behind the decision. But when the issue comes up in the General Assembly, the Israelis will be able to show that their original proposal—to divide the political control of the Jerusalem area between Jews and Arabs roughly along the lines fixed by the Israel-Jordan armistice, reserving supervision and protection of the Holy Places to international authority—offers the best hope of peace and at the same time protects the legitimate interests of every religion including the Roman Catholic. If in the

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face of this the interested powers insist upon the commission's plan, one can only conclude that the attempt to blackmail Israel into territorial concessions has not yet been abandoned.

## Whose "Shame"?

GOVERNOR DEWEY has at last spoken out on the Peekskill riots. In common with thousands of others we urged him to do so, and we assumed that whatever our political differences, he would rise to the obvious need and strike a blow for the democratic way. That would have been decent, it would have been responsible, and it would have been politics in the best sense. In view of what he did say, we regretfully conclude that he would have done better to remain silent. Instead of damping down the flames of hysteria that have seized on that Westchester community, he has made sure that they will continue to burn for months to come.

To give the Governor what little credit may be due him, he did say that "any violation of the rights of free speech and assembly of one group is an injury to the rights of all." And he did promise that "any action by anyone, whoever he is, in violation of these rights, can be and will be investigated to the last limit of the powers of the state."

At the same time, Mr. Dewey passed his own judgment on the riots and found that "the Communist groups obviously did provoke this incident," that the state and local police "used every reasonable method to preserve peace and order at the meeting, and to preserve the rights of free speech and assembly," and that in this "they were successful." These findings were made on the basis of reports and testimony offered by the District Attorney and the police officials involved. The Governor did not hear a single disinterested witness, much less a representative of the victims. He claims to have examined photographs and motion pictures, but unless these were carefully selected, he chose to ignore the ones that showed police officers standing by as the violence progressed; and he took no cognizance of sober newspaper and radio reports that officers took part in the booing of those who had come to hear Paul Robeson sing.

In assigning blame for the violence in which 140 persons were injured, numerous cars wrecked, and scores subjected to rock barrages over a ten-mile area, the Governor all but ignores the first of the two riots, in which the police culpably failed even to appear on the scene. And, finally, he calls, with a great show of virtue, for a grand jury investigation to be conducted by the very district attorney who was charged with keeping order—whose assistant, in fact, was among those that fomented the counter-demonstration. The result is that this official, whose prestige is dependent on establishing the guilt of the Peekskill victims, is now free to keep churning up the hatreds of an overwrought community.

A group of local clergymen, alarmed at the temper of the town, have called for a day of prayer and repentance. "Let us show shame and contrition," they ask. Amen, we say, and let Mr. Dewey be of their number.

## "Principles" and Profits

IF THE big steel companies precipitate a strike by refusing to accept the recommendations of the President's fact-finding board, the stated reason for the interruption of production in the nation's basic industry will not be a difference about any economic interest that could be reckoned in dollars and cents but a dispute about one of these intangibles that are called principles by those who accept them and prejudices by those who do not.

The history of the case makes this clear. The steel workers asked for a "package" which they estimated would cost the companies about 30 cents an hour. The first item in the requested package was a wage increase of 12½ cents. The second item was health and disability insurance, to cost 6.27 cents. The third and last was old-age pensions, to cost 11.23 cents. The President's board looked with disfavor on the wage-increase part of the parcel but recommended acceptance of the insurance proposal, trimmed down to a net cost of 4 cents an hour, and of the pension proposal, reduced to 6 cents an hour. In terms of money, therefore, the board said that the workers should not now receive 30 cents an hour more but should be satisfied with 10 cents.

The union accepted this decision as a basis for bargaining. The companies, led by United States Steel, refused to do so. What was their expressed reason? Not that the 10 cents an hour was more than they could afford without increasing prices—that would have been absurd in view of their present and prospective profits. Not that they were opposed either to health insurance or to pensions; they had already made an offer on insurance in bargaining conferences, and many of them already had pension systems and were prepared to enlarge them. Their objection was to the "principle" involved in the fact that the workers were not to make contributions to these funds out of their wages. This was socialistic, revolutionary, a dangerous precedent, and so on.

Now, suppose the board's findings had been somewhat different. Suppose it had said that the workers ought to receive a wage increase of 5 cents an hour, to be applied to a contribution by them to insurance and pensions, and the companies ought to make an equal contribution for these purposes. In that case the cost to the employers would have been exactly the same as the amount actually specified in the report. It seems, there-

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fore, that what the employers really object to is not "the principle" but the precedent: once they concede that pensions are their sole responsibility, they will find it more difficult to deny future increases in benefit rates.

But the fact is that ample precedents already exist. In many other industries "non-contributory" pensions have either been voluntarily established by employers or embodied in union contracts. Some steel employers already have such systems covering their workers. And as Phil Murray set forth in one of his polemical telegrams, the big executives of the companies receive non-contributory retirement allowances, as well as some to which they contribute. If Mr. Murray's information is correct, the chairman of the board, the chairman of the finance committee, and the president of United States Steel will each receive a pension of $50,000 a year paid for by the company, in addition to pensions to which they contribute. The president of Bethlehem Steel will receive at least $110,460 a year, to which he will not have contributed one cent. President Batchellor of Allegheny-Ludlum Steel, who called the board's recommendation socialistic, will for ten years after his retirement receive $40,000 a year as "consultant." Many other companies have similar plans.

No doubt these provisions for old age are justified in our system. Any big business man will tell you that it is difficult to get qualified men to accept the strain and responsibility of high executive positions, in view of high income taxes in the upper brackets. You cannot offer them enough salary to make the grind worth while. Large retirement allowances are an inducement for the sacrifice either of leisure or of the chance to make money in easier ways. But it does not fit any moral code that we know of for employees who are the recipients of such inducements to oppose non-contributory pensions of perhaps $1,200 a year to employees who have worn themselves out at the grinding labor of tending steel furnaces or rolling mills, and who have no chance to make the money necessary to support a life of leisure in their declining years. The only way one can justify such an inequitable distinction is to assert that a hard and cruel economic system demands it.

There is, we believe, a valid objection to the provision of social insurance and old-age security by private companies or even by entire industries: it ought to be done, and adequately done, by the government. Some companies and some industries are not in a position to afford the necessary cost. A system which covers everyone and provides sufficient benefits will have to be supported in large part by taxation apportioned according to ability to pay. But the existing social-security system in the United States is far from inclusive or adequate. This fact is what has led unions with strong bargaining power to try to protect at least their own members. The very employers who have provided the backbone of opposition to the establishment and extension of social security by government—which even now their political spokesmen are attacking as the "welfare state"—have the least right to object to the inevitable response of their organized workers.

In attempting to account for the position of the steel employers on this issue, one cannot omit the possibility that their emphasis on principle covers a very materialistic industrial strategy. They may want the union to weaken its resources by a long and costly strike, in order to curb its future demands and the power of the labor movement. This is the biggest and the most important union in the C. I. O.; it is a spearhead in political as well as industrial activity.

It is possible also that the companies would welcome an opportunity to shut down their plants without accepting the blame for deliberate restriction of output. For some months now production has been running below capacity and may continue to do so. Price reductions of steel have been advocated, notably in the very report to which the big companies object. But it is the immemorial practice of steel, when demand slackens, to hold up prices and restrict production rather than the reverse. A strike would again cause steel scarcity and squelch, at least temporarily, the growing demand that steel prices go down. From the beginning of this dispute the steel masters have acted as if they wanted to provoke a strike. They objected to the President's intervention; they attacked the board before they knew what it would decide. "Principles" are easier to defend when one profits from the battle.

# POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

## Politics and the High Court

IF PRESIDENT TRUMAN had wanted to satisfy his host of would-be advisers as well as himself, he would have had to search a long time for a judge to replace the genuinely lamented Wiley B. Rutledge on the Supreme Court. Instead, he searched only four days—probably a speed record in this field—and then satisfied primarily himself by settling on Sherman Minton, judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals and once Senator from Indiana. Minton meets few of the qualifications that have been most insistently urged on the President. He is not a Roman Catholic; he does not come from west of the Mississippi; and the appointment does not crown a lifetime of distinguished service on the bench. On the other hand, he is a devoted Democrat, a New Dealer, and a personal friend of the President, both having been

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"Young Turks" in the Senate in the high days of the Roosevelt Administration.

If the Minton appointment does not win the approval of those with special requirements in mind, neither will it please those who, out of fear that another liberal might be named to the court, demanded a "purity" that never was on land or sea. The New York *Daily News*, for example, thought it would be wonderful if Mr. Truman selected "the finest and broadest-visioned lawyer or lower-court judge that he could find, regardless of whether the man was a Democrat, Republican, Catholic, Jew, Protestant, internationalist, isolationist, Easterner, Westerner, Southerner, or anything else having no bearing on his fitness to sit on our highest tribunal." Other papers echoed this call for a choice based solely on legal and juridical qualifications.

On the score of religion the *News* approach finds no argument here. Mr. Truman has done the country a service by scotching the dangerously absurd notion that there must be religious bloc representation on the court. Certainly the Catholic church as such reaped no gain from the presence on the highest bench of Justice Taney, White, Butler, or, more recently, Murphy, who voted with the eight-to-one majority to condemn the use of school buildings for religious instruction in the famous McCollum case.

Geographic considerations have slightly more merit, since it is distinctly possible that the nation would benefit from the reconciling of real sectional differences within its highest tribunal, though here too, I think, the appeal is generally to pride rather than necessity. But where the purists suggest that the social views of prospective justices are likewise immaterial, that we need above all good legal technicians, I leave them abruptly. I question, moreover, whether they were "childishly naive" in their purity, as the *News* coyly admitted, or were just hopefully insinuating that the court should be above having to endure the replacement of a consistent liberal like Rutledge by another of his kind.

The plain fact is that, apart from judicial ability and personal integrity, no qualification for Rutledge's seat really mattered *except* a social liberalism that would keep the court abreast of the times. It is one of the more fatuous myths of American politics that Supreme Court justices are above the battle, automatons who mechanically drop controversial laws and lower-court opinions into the mold of the Constitution and then announce whether or not they fit. Actually the great leaders of the Republic have never thought of the court in this static way, but rather as the perennial revitalizer of what John Marshall called "a Constitution intended to endure for ages to come and, consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs." That the revitalizers—that is, the interpreters—are themselves fallible beings has been recognized again and again. "Our judges are as honest as other men and not more so," Lincoln remarked after the Dred Scott decision. "They have, with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps."

What the President was faced with, on the level of immediacy, was the necessity of reversing a trend that threatens to return the court to the thinking of pre-New Deal days. When Roosevelt died, the high bench had in Justice Roberts its one real conservative. The center consisted of Frankfurter, Jackson, and Reed, and the liberal wing of Black, Douglas, Murphy, and Rutledge. Chief Justice Stone, consistently with the liberals at the height of the New Deal period, shifted perceptibly to the right in his last two years of service. Truman's contribution, up to the Minton appointment, has been to replace the conservative Roberts with the equally conservative, and less able, Burton, and beyond that to build up the center. First it was Vinson for Stone, a sad exchange, and then Clark for Murphy, which was still sadder. Add to this the steady rightward drift of Frankfurter and Jackson, and it is obvious that the complexion of the court has undergone a drastic change since 1944. The liberal majority of five has become a minority of two, and the querulous wrangling between the Frankfurter-Jackson faction and the Black-Douglas faction has suggested less the highest tribunal in the land than an old maids' home on a rainy Sunday. Tabulations worked out by C. Herman Pritchett in the *American Political Science Review* for February, 1948, indicate that in cases involving personal liberty Rutledge voted to grant the claim 83 per cent of the time, second only to Murphy's 94 per cent; and that 75 per cent of his decisions in economic cases reflected what may be called the New Deal view, as compared with 34 per cent for Vinson on the one hand and 88 for Black on the other.

The President must have had these circumstances in mind when he hit on Minton, who, unless he has changed greatly since his Senate days, will start out with an enthusiastic sympathy for the Administration's aims and methods. That may be all to the good, but support of a program is hardly enough. What was needed was an appointment on a higher level of politics, one that would assure the country of an intellect and a will devoted to the constant refreshening of the Constitution in the light of current social demands and yet jealously protective of the freedoms laid down in that document. Judge Minton may rise to that level, as other justices have unexpectedly done in the past. But it is sad to think that a Minton, politically loyal but judicially undistinguished, should get the call when the President might have chosen a Learned Hand, in spite of that really great jurist's seventy-seven years. After all, Brandeis retired at eighty-three and Holmes at ninety-one, and when they left the court they were still among its keenest minds and boldest spirits.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

# *The Fall of Sterling*

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

THE secret of the cut in the pound's value was well kept. We now know that the decision to devalue was taken by the British Cabinet before Cripps and Bevin left London for the tripartite conference in Washington and was communicated before these talks started to Secretary of the Treasury Snyder and the Canadian Minister of Finance. A few other high officials, including the managing director of the International Monetary Fund, were "in the know," but there seem to have been no leaks. When I was in Washington last week I talked to a number of British and American officials and to members of the staff of the International Bank and the International Fund. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that devaluation was probable eventually but not immediately. First, it was thought, the British government would see whether the drastic cuts in dollar imports announced last July together with the measures agreed upon at the tripartite conference would suffice to check the alarming drain on sterling-area reserves which began last spring.

There was no hint in the final communiqué of the conference of an imminent cut in the value of the pound. The day after it was issued sterling "futures" in New York were decidedly stronger. True, they relapsed again the next day, but that was attributed to the strong opinions in favor of adjustment of exchange rates expressed in the annual report of the International Fund and in a speech by Eugene Black, the American president of the International Bank, which was clearly aimed at the British government's currency policies. At a later press conference Mr. Black insisted he was only airing his personal views, but it soon became clear that these sentiments were shared by a good many of the eminent finance ministers, bankers, and economists of many nations who had come to Washington to attend the annual meetings of the Bank and Fund. And it suggested to foreign-exchange specialists that, even if the British government was not going to act at once, international pressure against the pound was mounting.

In his broadcast announcement of September 18 Sir Stafford Cripps put as brave a face on the decision as possible. It was a matter, he said, on which the British government had made up its own mind: "There was no question of our consulting others, even our best friends." Nor, he implied, had the decision been influenced by views expressed by other governments. However, there is no use blinking the fact that external pressures, political and financial, have steadily undermined the position of sterling in the last few months, impelling the British Cabinet toward an action which, for good reasons, it was very reluctant to take.

Explaining why the decision was finally taken, Cripps pointed out that in 1948 good progress had been made toward the goal of achieving a balance of payments with the dollar area. However, in the second quarter of this year, dollar receipts of the sterling countries—as indeed of almost all other parts of the world—began to decline sharply. Gold and dollar reserves fell precipitately, and it became clear that if the drain was not stopped, they would disappear altogether. "Of course," said Cripps, "when people saw that our resources were falling rapidly, they began to wonder if their confidence in sterling was well based. Talk had started last spring about our exchange rates in a way which led to doubt as to whether they were not too high. Once it was suspected that a lowering might take place, people tried to turn pounds sterling to gold and dollars by all sorts of devices. That is a very difficult thing to stop."

The "talk" to which Cripps refers was really something very much more than that. It added up, as *The Nation* said in an editorial on July 16, to a regular campaign against sterling, a campaign which received a lot of encouragement, if not inspiration, from the United States Treasury Department. American politicians and publicists insisted day after day that sterling prices were hopelessly out of line with dollar prices, though the official indices did not show any great divergence, and that an adjustment in exchange rates had become "inevitable." Some British newspapers hostile to the Labor government took up the same cry. The undisguised hope of all these "bears" of sterling was that devaluation would prove a stepping-stone to the abandonment of Socialist planning.

This drumfire of bearish opinion naturally influenced everyone buying and selling in pounds. American importers of British goods held back orders, hoping they would soon have an opportunity to buy more cheaply in terms of dollars. Business men in the sterling areas due to receive dollars attempted to get payment postponed, since devaluation would give them more pounds. There was a growing volume of exchange leakage through commodity deals. Belgian holders of sterling balances used them, for instance, to buy diamonds in South Africa which they then resold in this country. They might lose money on the deal, but it enabled them to turn a threatened currency into a solid one. So, one way and

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another, the pound was sold short, and as quotations on "the free market" declined, the proponents of devaluation seized on the news as proving the necessity for their remedy. Thus, whether or not the fall of sterling was "inevitable," there were many eager hands pushing it down.

*Ernest Bevin*

For many months Cripps denied on every possible occasion that the British government intended to alter the exchange rate. Of course, even if he had contemplated this action he would have had to deny it, for currency cats must be kept in the bag until the last moment. (That is why, as on this occasion, changes are almost always announced on a Sunday, when the banks and other financial institutions are closed.) But there is every reason to believe that Cripps was entirely sincere in rejecting devaluation for so long. He was, for one thing, skeptical about its efficacy. No doubt a cut in the value of the pound would enable Britain to reduce dollar prices for its goods and sell more of them, but would sales increase sufficiently to compensate for the fact that each automobile or bolt of woolen cloth or case of whiskey brought in a smaller number of dollars than before? Few economists were rash enough to answer that question with any assurance; fewer still were willing to bet that the elasticity of demand for sterling-area goods in this country and Canada is such that a cut of 20 to 30 per cent in their wholesale prices would double sales. Yet an increase of something like this magnitude would be required to balance Britain's account with us.

However, the chief reason for the distaste of Cripps and his Labor colleagues for the devaluation remedy was the well-founded fear that it would undermine internal stability. The inescapable consequence of a reduction in the exchange rate was that goods imported from North America—for the most part essential foods and raw materials not available in sufficient quantities elsewhere—would cost more in terms of pounds. Devaluation, therefore, was likely to lead to an increase in the British cost of living and thus destroy the basis of the tacit bargain which set a wage freeze against a promise of stable prices. Would it be possible to hold the unions to this bargain? That was doubtful. Yet any considerable rise in wage rates would raise manufacturing costs and export prices of British goods and so cancel out the advantage gained by the cut in the exchange rate.

If in spite of such considerations the British Labor government decided at the beginning of this month to take the plunge, it was because it was between the devil and the deep sea. The drain on the reserves had been accelerated, and the only alternative way of checking it was to cut dollar imports more than the 25 per cent announced in July. But that would mean a shortage of raw materials so severe that it would be necessary to close down factories and create unemployment. And even then there could be no assurance of closing the gap. With the whole world expecting the devaluation of sterling, wrote the financial editor of the London *Sunday Times* on September 18 a few hours before Cripps made his broadcast, "either we devalue or succeed in the almost superhuman task of convincing the world we are not going to devalue."

Once he had decided to reduce the exchange rate, Cripps cut drastically. The rate of $2.80—nearly 31 per cent below the old level—is a good deal lower than most people had expected. It may be that the pound is now undervalued, but as Cripps said, "it was essential to fix the new rate at a level that we could hold." Just what it will mean in terms of American prices for British goods remains to be seen. Certainly it will not be possible to cut the retail prices of most manufacturered products by anything like 30 per cent, since these prices include import duties and large distributors' margins. But there should be some expansion of British sales provided that our recession really is on the way out. And a cheaper pound ought to give a real impetus to the tourist trade.

*Sir Stafford Cripps*

Nine countries, inside the sterling area or closely linked to it, immediately followed Britain in adjusting their exchange rates. Probably all but a handful of countries in Europe and the Middle East and perhaps in Latin America will do likewise in the next few days. Even Canada is expected to cut its exchange rate with this country, though not by anything like 30 per cent. This general devaluation means that Britain will not improve its competitive position in the United States as compared with, say, Denmark. On the other hand, it insures that prices of imports from countries that have aligned their currencies with sterling will not increase. As a result Cripps claims that there is no need for any serious increase in the British cost of living. Only two important foodstuffs, bread and flour, are to rise immediately (by 25 per cent).

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I hope Cripps proves right on this point, but I confess myself to be a little skeptical. It is true that when Britain abandoned the gold standard in 1931 and the dollar value of the pound declined sharply, British internal prices were hardly affected. But at that time the whole world was in a state of deep depression. There were surpluses of staple commodities everywhere, and producers were frantically competing to dispose of them. As a result, cheaper sterling then exerted an added deflationary force on prices in those countries that, for a time, maintained the gold standard. That seems less likely to happen now. For one thing farm prices in this country are strongly protected by government support; for another there are no unmanageable surpluses of food and raw materials in other parts of the world.

I should expect British internal prices, therefore, to rise not violently but gradually over the next twelve months. Cripps has asked that in any case wages and other forms of personal income be not increased, so that inflation can be avoided and full advantage taken of devaluation in the dollar export market. But considering that many workers are already rather restive about the wage freeze, his pleas may fall on deaf ears, especially as devaluation is likely to swell profits in some industries. So the government may be forced to allow some wage increases or resort to deflationary measures sharp enough to cause considerable unemployment. Britain, in short, has many difficult days ahead before it solves its trade problems, for while devaluation may prove a tonic it is a long way from providing a complete cure.

# *Florida's Legal Lynching*

BY TED POSTON

ON September 8, in the palm-surrounded Lake County courthouse in Tavares, Samuel Shepherd and Walter Irvin, twenty-two-year-old Negro war veterans, heard themselves sentenced to death for the capital crime of rape. Charles Greenlee, sixteen years old, who had never seen Shepherd and Irvin until they found themselves in a mob-threatened cell together, received life imprisonment for the same crime.

Sentence was pronounced by Circuit Court Judge T. G. Futch, who, incidentally, owed his election to the support of the Negro voters of Lake County. The state was represented during the three-day trial by County Prosecutor Jess Hunter. An all-white jury accepted without question the unsupported word of Mrs. Norma Lee Padgett, a seventeen-year-old white farm housewife, that she had been raped by four Negroes in the back seat of a 1946 Mercury sedan in the early morning hours of July 16. There was no medical testimony, no presentation of objective evidence like her clothes or the car in which the crime allegedly occurred. The word of one white girl was believed against that of three Negro youths who insisted that they had never seen her before.

Mrs. Padgett's charges set off a three-day reign of terror, beginning July 16, in which local hoodlums, aided by unmasked klansmen from adjacent Orange County and distant Georgia, burned and pillaged Negro homes in Groveland, Stuckey's Still, and neighboring communities and struck terror into the hearts of thousands of Negro citrus workers who had hesitated about harvesting the crop at the low prevailing wage rate. After the rioting was finally quelled by the National Guard, word was sent to at least a dozen fairly successful Negro farmers to "leave everything and get out now and stay out." Their prospering independence was a bad example in a community which thrives on keeping its workers in a state of semi-peonage.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which first exposed the frame-up of Shepherd, Irvin, and Greenlee—and the wanton murder of Ernest Thomas, twenty-seven, the fourth suspect, by a deputized mob ten days after the alleged rape—will fight the convictions all the way up to the United States Supreme Court if an aroused public will contribute the $20,000 estimated as the cost of the appeals.

Through the N. A. A. C. P.'s entrance into the case several precedents were established. Two Negro lawyers, Franklin H. Williams of the association's national office, and Horace E. Hill of Daytona Beach, recently admitted to the Florida bar, appeared among the defense counsel in the third-floor courtroom in Tavares. Prospective jurors were forced to concede that Negro lawyers should have the same rights in Lake County courts as white lawyers, "even to the cross-examination of all witnesses, including white ladies." (None of them relished the prospect, but in their anxiety to serve on what they jokingly called the "lynch jury" they consented.) And for the first time in the history of Florida, and probably of the whole South, an all-white jury, which had been expected to bring in its verdict in five minutes, deliberated for two hours before it decided to convict three Negroes on the unsupported word of a white woman. Rather than face the fury of their neighbors, the jurors finally "compro-

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*TED POSTON is on the staff of the New York* Post-Home News. *After reporting the Tavares trial he was chased out of town by white men.*

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mised," but in recommending "mercy" for Charles Greenlee they admitted that the prosecution had not proved its case.

The chief defense counsel was Alex Akerman, Jr., a successful civil lawyer in nearby Orlando, the state's Republican leader, and a native Southern liberal. By raising the question of the systematic exclusion of Negroes from grand and petit juries in Lake County, Akerman prepared the way for the United States Supreme Court to order a new trial. Jess Hunter, the wily state's attorney, anticipated this question when the N. A. A. C. P. entered the case, and for that reason he placed a Negro truck driver on the grand jury which indicted the youths. This Negro, the first ever summoned for such duty, indicated a reluctance to attend, but the sheriff sent out word that "he'll come or I'll go get him." Hunter also put the names of three Negroes—something that had never been done before—on the first two panels of 300 veniremen summoned for prospective jury duty at the trial, but he called only one, a gray-haired old handyman. The court clerk begged defense counsel to excuse this "boy," whom he called "one of the best niggers in Lake County," so that he could attend his father-in-law's funeral.

AKERMAN fought brilliantly but in vain for a change of venue to a less prejudiced county and for a postponement to give the defense time to investigate new evidence uncovered a few days before the trial opened. This evidence indicated strongly that Norma Lee Padgett had never been raped by anyone, and that her story was an attempt to cover up a fight she had had with her husband, Willie Padgett, from whom she was estranged.

Akerman dared the county prosecutor to introduce as evidence the oral "confessions" obtained from the two older boys after they had been beaten and tortured by "deputies" in a nearby woods and had been strung up by their arms and savagely thrashed in the basement of the combined jail and courthouse in which the trial was held. Hunter, a highly intelligent prosecutor who deliberately cultivates a backwoods manner, rejected the challenge because he knew that such confessions had been ruled inadmissible by the United States Supreme Court, and that their use would have made the court's reversal of a guilty verdict inevitable. He thus placed Florida on a slightly higher legal level than New Jersey, where six Trenton Negroes were convicted of murder on the basis of similarly elicited "confessions."

The difficulties encountered in securing a white attorney were indicative of the feeling of terror that had been built up by the inflammatory editorials and cartoons in the Florida papers. In the first two weeks after the N. A. A. C. P. entered the case Franklin H. Williams, its assistant special counsel, traveled up and down the state trying to get a white lawyer who could not be lambasted by local newspapers as an "outsider interfering in local affairs."

A prominent Miami criminal attorney, approached indirectly through a liberal white Southerner, replied that he would not consider "studying" the case unless the N. A. A. C. P. paid him a retainer of $25,000, an impossible sum for an organization which was able to raise only $1,500 in defense funds; it actually spent more than $5,000 in the trial just concluded. A lawyer in Inverness demanded a $10,000 fee but called up before his offer could be accepted or rejected to say that his wife would not let him act in a rape case involving a white woman and Negro men.

The liberal son of a prominent Florida politician reluctantly decided that he could not take the case. "Although I disagree with many of my father's political beliefs and actions," he said, "I just can't take a step which would undoubtedly bring about his defeat in the next election." This man did act as an undercover investigator for the defense.

After a labor lawyer who has done some work for the C. I. O. refused to conduct the defense unless his partner also received a fee, Williams came back to Alex Akerman, Jr., who had been approached earlier without success. "A lawyer's first responsibility is to his existing clients," Akerman now told Williams, "and I have six clients whose interests might be prejudiced if I took this case." When Williams learned that the six clients were young Negro students in whose behalf Akerman was suing the University of Florida, he would not leave the Orlando attorney's office until he consented to undertake Florida's "little Scottsboro case." During the trial Jess Hunter intimated that Akerman had been paid by the N. A. A. C. P. to challenge the racial ban against Negroes at the University of Florida, but Akerman proved that he had instituted the suits as a private attorney, acting out of his belief in the justice of equal educational opportunities. He showed such fervor in the Tavares defense that another young white Florida lawyer, Joseph E. Price, Jr., volunteered his services without a fee.

THE conviction of Shepherd and Irvin with a mandatory death sentence was almost a foregone conclusion. On their return to civil life both had refused to work in the local citrus groves for substandard wages. If either boy had had a chance, it disappeared when he walked to the witness stand, disdainful and unbroken despite the beatings he had received, and scorned the charge that he had assaulted Norma Lee Padgett.

Conviction, even with a "mercy" recommendation, must have come as a sharp surprise to the sixteen-year-old Greenlee, for from the moment he began his testimony it was evident that the unlettered but articulate youngster believed that "if you just tell the good white folks the truth and make them understand, then every-

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thing will be all right." Akerman proved conclusively that the youth was twenty miles away from the scene of the alleged rape at the time it was said to have occurred, but it was Greenlee's frank, simple story which kept the jury deliberating for two hours.

Dispassionately, and using the time-table established by state witnesses, Akerman also proved that Shepherd and Irvin could not have been near the alleged rape scene on that July morning; but neither one had Greenlee's persuasiveness on the stand.

Ironically, the life-imprisonment sentence for Greenlee almost brought further tragedy to Lake County. Incensed that even one of the defendants had escaped the chair, five carloads of white men chased the two Negro defense lawyers and two Negro reporters forty miles over the road to Orlando on the night of the verdict.

# *Postscript on Spain*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*Stockholm, September 12*

IN MY account of my visit to Spain (in *The Nation* of September 3) I described the terrible conditions in that unhappy country—the repression, the poverty, and the people's uncertainty about how the fascist dictatorship could be brought to an end. The Resistance keeps up its courage and its faith in the Republic, but the middle classes, suffering under the incredible incompetence and corruption of a government which thinks only of ways to rob them, are absorbed in the struggle to continue some semblance of normal economic existence. It is in these circles, among men in close contact with business realities, that the greatest amazement is felt when the Spanish newspapers say that an American Senator has stood up in Congress to demand a loan for Franco or the inclusion of Franco Spain in the program of aid for Europe.

There is nothing mysterious about the way the Franco regime administers the country, nothing that could not be discovered by an intelligent American visitor or correspondent. It is not necessary to run the risks of a trip to the mountains and a meeting with the guerrillas to get this "story." One need only examine the last budgets of the various government departments as published in the *Boletín Oficial* of December 28, 1948.

Spain spends on its civil prisons, not counting civilians in military prisons or concentration camps, the equivalent of $15,366,381 a year (at the current rate of eleven pesetas to the dollar). But the significance of this sum will be lost on the American reader unless I add that the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture—in a country whose economy is still based on farming—is only $12,979,865. The amount spent on education—the primary and secondary schools, the universities, the technical and professional schools, the department of fine arts, and the department of archives and libraries—is $99,774,982, which is $3,850,745 less than that spent on the Civil Guard, the police, and other agencies of repression and terror. Moreover, owing to the complete lack of administrative efficiency and honesty, the amount of waste concealed in those figures is on a scale probably unmatched this side of China.

The budget of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco provides, by itself, an accurate picture of the fascist regime's monstrous spending policy. Of the total of $72,888,373, the army takes $56,561,365, the Civil Guard $1,028,255, the civil administration $13,660,884; while $97,182 goes to public education, and $205,273 to public works. In other words, these two last items, which ought to be a major charge, absorb 0.4 per cent of the Moroccan budget.

The sum allotted to the Spanish army is $589,932,566. Adding this to the cost of the Civil Guard and the police, we have a total of $704,389,198 spent by the government to maintain itself in power.

This figure, plus the interest on the public debt, $217,681,331, and $55,956,084 for government pensions, brings the expenditure for purely negative purposes to $982,579,341. Since the total government income amounts to $1,460,960,920, the sum left for all the other services is only $478,436,125.

How can anyone even consider making a loan to a government which spends close to a billion dollars to keep itself going and has less than half this sum left for the country's other needs? That is the question which every non-Falangist Spaniard asks himself when he hears that certain American Senators and Representatives and a few American newspapers advocate using American taxpayers' money to finance a regime which is the negation of all that America professes to stand for.

One item above all others expresses the spirit of Spanish fascism. In the army budget the sum earmarked for the pay and other remuneration of generals and lower officers is $65,869,519, as against $40,941,993 for the common soldiers—that is, the rank and file of the Spanish army, some 500,000 strong, receive altogether little more than half as much as the officers!

There are other figures which are almost as startling. In the fourth section of the budget $4,043,354 is set aside for the general secretariat of the Falange. What

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would the American people say if the budget of the United States allotted a proportionate amount, some two hundred million dollars, to support the machinery of the Democratic or the Republican Party, whichever was in power? And in Article 2 of the first chapter $90,909 is assigned to a special tribunal for the suppression of Free Masonry. Do the American Senators who favor a loan to Franco want to finance the persecution of Protestants and Free Masons?

According to the Spanish Chamber of Commerce, the general cost of living has risen 570 per cent since 1936, and the cost of food alone 643 per cent. The real rise is undoubtedly even greater, for official statistics do not reflect the whole truth.

The regime's own statements give a clear idea of the situation of the peseta. As a result of the runaway inflation and the enormous circulation of paper money, the peseta sells for much less than its official value in all the black markets for foreign exchange—in Tangier and along the Spanish-French border. The amount of paper money has doubled since 1941, and the decline in its worth is due solely to the general lack of confidence in the security of the government. A comparison with the year 1936, under the Republic, before the Franco uprising, shows that five times as many notes are in circulation now, and the deficit in the trade balance has increased accordingly. The currency has thus been deprived of effective backing. The deficit in the balance of trade is officially reported as $30,954,545. In 1947 cotton textile exports were only one-seventh as large as in 1936 and only one-eighth as great in value.

How can the United States give political support to a government whose true character is revealed by such figures? For two years Spaniards have wondered about this and have been amazed to see stories of a prospective loan featured every two or three months on the front pages of Falangist newspapers.

The annual statement prepared by the Bank of Urquijo for its stockholders estimated that the rehabilitation of the Spanish economy would require $777,000,000 over a period of four years, and that if the needed foodstuffs were also supplied, at least $1,475,000,000 would be necessary. Under present conditions such sums cannot possibly be obtained. In any case, the country's whole antiquated, dilapidated economic structure must be changed if Spain is to support its 27,761,000 inhabitants, who are increasing by 250,000 a year. Irrigation and power projects must bring arid regions into production and provide the electric current which will permit the development of vital industries.

Obviously Spain needs help. But loans or credits to the Franco government would only contribute to the misery and enslavement of the Spanish people. It is the barbarous political system and the chaotic finances of the regime which deprive Spain of the right to participate in the United States program of aid for Europe.

# *Will Europe Go Right?*

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

## II. The "Right-Center" Bloc

*Paris, September 3*

EVERYBODY agrees that Western Europe is "unified" only by the Atlantic Pact and anti-communism. "Ideologically," M. Servan Schreiber—a good type of French liberal intellectual—wrote recently in *Le Monde*, "we have nothing to oppose to Stalin's communism. The Russians have a sense of purpose; we have none." (Significantly enough, a recent resolution of the Gaullists used almost exactly the same words, adding that Eastern Europe was, despite numerous failures, "making sense," while Western Europe was not.) M. Schreiber went on to say that if there was no united Western Europe, it was the fault of the British Labor Party, which was the most powerful "Third Force" party in Europe and could have taken the lead. Instead, it did nothing about Europe and was concerned only about two things—the success of its economic experiment within Britain and its relations with the United States. Was there not here, he asked, a fatal miscalculation? Everything now suggests that, far from supporting the Third Force, America—as represented by men like Secretary of the Treasury Snyder—is supporting the right. Yet at least until recently the Labor Party persisted in believing in some invisible leftward trend in America, and thought that real Social Democracy would materialize much sooner in America than, say, in Italy. The British, in short, were not interested in, did not believe in the Third Force or in the democracy of "Frogs" and "Wops." This was particularly true of all the non-intellectuals and anti-intellectuals of the Labor Party. To real French liberals or Socialists this is a bitter reflection; and they fear that British Labor may suffer for its error before long, for

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*ALEXANDER WERTH, after a number of months in France, is now returning to Yugoslavia and will resume his dispatches about events behind the iron curtain. Part I of this article, printed last week, dealt with the decline of the Third Force."*

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if Labor—so the argument runs—had fully supported the Third Force on the Continent, America would not have so blatantly welcomed the defeat of the Social Democrats in Germany and would not encourage everywhere the elimination from European governments of even the most innocuous brands of Socialists, such as the Belgian party.

Brandel

*Paul Reynaud*

Numerous French observers are convinced that Washington wants the Labor government to go, for political, ideological, and economic reasons. "A Labor Britain is becoming an anomaly and an anachronism in Europe," *Combat* remarked bitterly after the German election, while the conservative M. Raymond Aron in *Figaro* noted with satisfaction that Western Germany had "aligned itself with the present right-center tendency throughout Western Europe"—which also meant that it was high time for the Labor government to pack up. Other Frenchmen of the same persuasion have been confidently predicting that Cripps, at any rate, would soon be forced out by Washington, and that Britain would have to abandon its socialism, such as it was, and align itself with the free enterprise of the new Europe—a cause defended with particular ardor by the Belgians and by men like Paul Reynaud in France. The Office of European Economic Cooperation, M. Reynaud recently declared, had been a failure; a stronger effort was necessary to "put Europe on its feet." We know what that means.

Something more than the economic *Gleichschaltung* of Western Europe is apparently Washington's goal. What seems to be also sought is a political *Gleichschaltung,* along "right-center" lines, as M. Aron euphemistically puts it. These "right-center" groups have highly respectable labels; they call themselves Christian Democrats, or Liberals, or sometimes even, as in France, Radicals or Radical Socialists. But in all of them the Catholic element is strong. Perhaps I should make an exception for France, for many of the French Catholics of the M. R. P. have a sound Gallic tradition; their official organ, the *Aube,* is distinctly Third Force and pro-Socialist, and some of the Catholic intellectuals of a paper like *Esprit* would be glad to fraternize even with the Communists if only Communists were not so hidebound and so unscrupulous toward allies. A sector of the M. R. P. has a strong sense of social justice, a much stronger one than the *droite classique,* which, in the words of M. Schreiber, "is no longer scared of the Red Army, and therefore thinks that the Era of the Spoilt Proletarian Child has come to an end: never mind unemployment, it will make the other chaps work harder."

TYPICAL of the widespread French distrust of the Vatican as a powerful reactionary force in Europe is Schreiber's recent dispatch to the *Monde* from Rome:

> Not for many years has the Vatican been so active as now. Never in recent time has the Pope had so much influence in Italy as today. The collapse of German hegemony in Europe, the widespread bewilderment over communism, the fall of the Italian monarchy—all these have helped the Pope. . . . The present feverish activity going on round the Pope is even more mysterious than the activity of the Cominform. Strong threads lead from the Vatican to Spain, to South America, to the United States; and the Italian government, acting largely on behalf of the Vatican, has close bonds with all the "Christian" parties of Europe.

People who were in Germany during the election declare that the Catholic church played an extremely important part in the victory of Adenauer's party; it also worked for Van Zeeland's "Social Christians" in Belgium and has by no means given up hope of restoring Leopold to his throne. French observers believe that this Vatican campaign is directed not merely against the Communists but against the Socialists as well. As for Britain, on this point Servan Schreiber is particularly illuminating. What the Vatican aims at, above all, he says, is a sort of Latin bloc, comprising Italy, Spain, France, and Belgium, to which would be added as many other Western countries as possible, for instance, Austria and West Germany—*but not England.*

The Vatican conception of a "Europe without England," he adds, has a familiar ring. Before the war, it was an idea cherished by various brands of fascists, pro-Nazis, and other reactionaries, such as M. Henri Béraud, now safe in prison, whose famous article, Reduce England to Slavery! appeared in *Gringoire* in 1935. England, it said, would never leave the Continent in peace and had always prevented its nations, notably France and Germany, from becoming friends. The current idea of excluding an unreliable, disturbing, always more or less leftist England from a solidly united reactionary Europe is merely a variation on the same theme.

M. Schreiber remarks at this point that, without France, such a "Christian" bloc in Europe would not amount to anything, and that it is up to France to scotch the whole scheme. He was not impressed by capitalist Christian Democracy as he saw it in practice in Italy, where the ardent defense of Christianity does not exclude a ruthless attitude to labor. Nowhere else in Europe had he seen such poverty as in the villages of southern Italy. He makes the interesting comment that

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the two extremes in Europe today are represented by Sir Stafford Cripps and De Gasperi. He doubts De Gasperi's assertion that British socialism, by bureaucratizing the country, must lead to communism sooner or later, but he believes that the Italian brand of Christian Democracy must inevitably lead to fascism, or something extremely like it. Similarly, he says, if France were to join a Vatican-sponsored "Christian Democratic" Europe, Vichy ideas would soon prevail, for the Radical Socialists—who found Vichy to be the line of least resistance—would not swim against the current.

FRENCH Socialists are very unhappy about it all—except Blum, who is in a state of constant euphoria, and a few men who would like to remain Cabinet ministers forever. The rank and file know, as do some of the leaders, that if the British Labor Party goes, the last stronghold of socialism in Europe will be lost. Though they have always felt neglected by the Labor Party, the French Socialists feel there is still hope for them as long as Labor remains in power in Britain. If there should be a right-wing government in France, just such a singular situation might arise as is found today in the French trade-union movement. The deadly enmity between the Socialist and the Communist Party in France is reflected in the trade unions: politically there is complete disagreement between the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs (C. G. T.) and the Force Ouvrière; and the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Chrétiens (C. G. T. C.), which is closely related to the M. R. P., disagrees with them both. But economically all three groups are beginning to see eye to eye; as the cost of living goes up, non-Communist trade unions are just as discontented as the C. G. T. The Communist C. G. T. and the Socialist F. O. gave simultaneous orders to government employees to strike on June 15. The C. G. T. C., at its congress in June, ratified various local agreements made with the Communist trade unions, despite protests from the F. O. It even went so far as explicitly to condemn the government for constantly yielding to the pressure of "liberal capitalism."

On questions of general policy the Communist and non-Communist trade unions are divided, the Communists considering the Marshall Plan a source of regression and unemployment in France, and the others welcoming it for the new equipment it will bring. Thus joint political action is for the present out of the question, though joint economic action, including strikes, will become more and more likely if the cost of living goes up farther on account of the drought and if real wages remain "frozen" at their present average of 30 per cent below the pre-war level. The recent *midinette* strike was an example of coordinated if not united action by the Communist and non-Communist trade unions.

Western Germany, under a reactionary "free enterprise" government, may become an ideal hunting-ground for American investors, but in France as in England the setting up of a strictly "capitalist" government would only create acute labor unrest and either largely unify working-class movements or else turn the Communist Party into the rallying-point for all "resistance." The attempt to scrap Third Force regimes and to unify Western Europe under some "liberal" or "Christian Democratic" banner might easily lead to most undesirable results, especially if the Christian Democrats, like their German confrères, showed an inclination to start a scrap with Russia.

The important thing to remember is that France is a complex and sophisticated country, and the simplified blueprints of political conduct which may go down well in Germany will not be acceptable to it. Nor will they be to England, one hopes.

# *No Comment*

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GOVERNMENT SURPLUS items for sale: Pick Handles for Police to Calm Red Agitators.—Advertisement in the Chicago *Tribune,* August 14.

THE EYES of the American people are focused today upon the American Legion. . . . Second only to religion, it is the greatest power for good in the United States today.—International News Service article by George N. Craig, new National Commander of the American Legion, printed in many recent papers.

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA—"Death Is So Permanent," a slogan of the Road Safety Council's advertising drive against accidents, has met with resounding disapproval from several church denominations. . . . Churches argue that it denies existence of the life hereafter. The council has thought up an alternative: "Life Is So Precious."—United Press dispatch, August 12.

DEAR DR. WEIZMANN. . . . Please accept our heartfelt wishes for a safe journey for Mrs. Weizmann and yourself. May G-D Almighty grant you long life and many years of great accomplishment and happiness in Eretz Israel. Respectfully yours, L. Schultz, Patrician Caterers.—Advertisement in the New York *Post-Home News,* May 6.

[*Readers are invited to contribute to "No Comment" and "In the Wind"; $2 will be paid for each item printed.*]

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## Essays and Asides

# SCIENCE AND LITERATURE

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE editors of *The Nation* have passed on to me for comment the following letter concerning my remarks, headed Thinking Makes It So, in the issue of August 13:

If Mr. Krutch was right when he said that the scientists are concerned almost exclusively with doing things—which, however, I venture to doubt—and that the so-called humanists are concerned mostly with judging values, who is there to connect the two? Is it possible that this ship we travel in has an engine room and a conning tower but no signal system between them?

Perhaps Mr. Krutch, who in a way represents both departments, would write another piece with suggestions for connecting them. The navigation could do with a little improvement. M. T. C.

What M. T. C. requests is a large order—for a thousand words or for a hundred thousand—and I am quite certain I could not fill it even if given carte blanche. But if I can make my position even a little clearer, I should like very much to do so.

That position is certainly not anti-scientific. I was interested in science before I was interested in literature, and I still read almost as much of the one as of the other. For scientific knowledge there is, in many fields, no substitute, and I am as far as possible from depreciating it in favor of authority, of intuition, or anything whatsoever. But science is a specific, definable technique for investigating reality, and like every other valid technique it is doomed—no doubt because of certain limitations of the mind as an instrument—to furnish a report which is useful for certain purposes but not actually a full account of any of the phenomena it investigates.

Perhaps I can best explain what I mean by an analogy on a smaller scale. Increasingly, literary criticism has become a matter of various techniques—the historical, the psychological, the sociological, and, most recently of all, the symbolical and mythological. Not one of them has failed to say true and interesting things about various literary works. But the fact remains that "King Lear" is something more than the historical, the psychological, the sociological, or the mythological interpretation of it. Indeed, it would be better that none of those interpretations had ever been heard of than that we should begin to suppose that the work is "nothing but" any one of those accounts or even all of them put together. In much the same way, science is one of the techniques for reporting on life, and it is similarly useful as well as similarly incomplete. Moreover, one of the disastrous tendencies of our time is just the tendency to turn increasingly from literature on the one hand and from life itself on the other in order to contemplate some account rather than the thing itself—with the result that the whole experience of living is desiccated and impoverished.

As to the question whether or not science can establish values, that has been argued often and long. At the present moment the commonest illustration of the case for the negative is the remark that science could make the atom bomb but was powerless to say whether it should or should not be dropped on Hiroshima. Similarly, though medical science may find out how a life may be saved it cannot decide whether or not a particular life ought to be prolonged, and every attempt to make it do so merely pushes a little farther back the question which science cannot answer. To say that the bomb ought to have been dropped because it was ultimately economical of lives or because it served democracy, or to say that the life of the man in the hospital should be saved because medical science believes that life is necessarily worth saving, is merely to make an option for democracy in the one case or the inherent sacredness of life in the other, and about neither can science itself say anything. Those who maintain that they make no basic unscientific assumptions merely do not recognize the point at which they make the arbitrary choice.

On what basis, then, ought the "ought" to be accepted? Some say that the question was decided by God and communicated either by revelation or through the inner light. Others say that man merely makes a choice which is an arbitrary one and as such more momentous than any other thing he can possibly do. All life, said Nietzsche, is a dispute about taste. And one of my points was simply that literature is perhaps the most important of the means discovered by man for expressing, communicating, and putting into some recognizable order those tastes to which he is finding himself committed.

I am all for what M. T. C. calls a signal system between science and literature. I am not in favor of the divided man. But I certainly do not think that we have devised a co-ordination when we invite one to swallow up the other and propose to go on the assumption that the scientific—in which I include the sociological—account of human life is a complete account. We do not know a whole man when we know his social and economic status or even when we know also everything which can be tabulated about his political and aesthetic preferences. We make a terrible mistake when we assume that we can build a society for him on the basis of nothing except statistics.

I do not, to take a specific instance, believe that the novel makes its best contribution to the understanding of man when it bases itself on the investigation of the sociologist. One of the chief functions of the novel, as of all forms of belles-lettres, is to communicate what the experience of living is; what it feels like to be alive in a certain place under certain conditions. And if there is one thing which is obvious, it is that the ex-

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perience of life is very different from a sociologist's account of a milieu. There is nothing that a man feels less like than a statistic. The sociologist may be quite right in his own way when he describes a certain person as a representative of the white-collar class in a declining capitalist civilization beginning to be penetrated by the conflict between fascist and socialist ideologies. But no one ever felt like that; in fact, I doubt that any man ever felt other than unique. And that feeling of uniqueness is one of the most important things about him so far as any understanding of what it was like to live his life.

Sociological truths can be better presented in sociological treatises than in novels. What novels can do is to serve as a kind of warning that the sociological account is an account only and ought not to be mistaken for the thing itself. More specifically still, I will make a dogmatic statement. A novelist is less likely to do his real job well if he takes data from "Middletown" and "The Kinsey Report" than if he uses his imagination, by which I mean if he tries to project himself into the situation of an observed character.

## Rise of a Union

*THE UAW AND WALTER REUTHER.* By Irving Howe and B. J. Widick. Random House. $3.

THE United Automobile Workers is one of the great and astonishing achievements of contemporary American life. Growing up in Detroit, that great, steaming swamp of a city, drawing its membership in great part from tense and embittered minorities, confronted by peculiarly rich and ruthless corporations, the U. A. W. has yet shown a reassuring degree of trade-union efficiency and of political sanity. Its top leadership, moreover, was for many years bumbling and mediocre. Yet the U. A. W. has not only survived Homer Martin and R. J. Thomas; it has not only beaten off a series of conspiratorial factions, from the KKK and the Black Legion to the Trotskyites and the Communist Party; but it has ended by becoming the great model for militant labor in America and by raising to leadership the most formidable new personality in the American labor movement.

The story of the U. A. W. is only partly the story of Walter Reuther; but the two stories are inseparable, and "The UAW and Walter Reuther" properly tells them together. The book opens with a trenchant picture of life and labor in Detroit. Then it deals concisely with the history of the U. A. W., a section ending with a chapter-long portrait of Reuther. The characterization is shrewd, sympathetic without being uncritical, and generally convincing. The authors feel that Reuther in his rise to power has slipped to a considerable extent into "the character mold of the American managerial type: the personality of neutral efficiency." It is this managerial drift, they suggest, rather than any dictatorial ambitions of the kind his enemies profess to see in him, which may come into conflict with the militant rank and file of the union. But Reuther, while abandoning his doctrinaire socialism, has not abandoned the social conscience which originally drove him into the Socialist Party; so that "his action proceeds from tensions generated by a clash between the demands of power and the demands of vision." He thus remains, they argue, an "unfinished personality," whose inner conflicts symbolize twentieth-century American experience.

The last part of the book surveys current problems of the U. A. W.—race relations, bureaucratization, political action. In their larger view of union problems the authors have been influenced by C. Wright Mills; and, within the U. A. W. context, by Emil Mazey. This at once inclines them toward a Socialist third party and invests them with a belief in the potentialities of independent trade-union action in politics which their own observations of the remorseless process of bureaucratization would seem to me to contradict. The trade union, I fear, is an inherently conservative institution; it is not the likely instrument of revolutionary change. But their own predilection does not prevent the authors from giving an altogether fair statement of the position of those who favor working within the major parties.

"The UAW and Walter Reuther" is a swift, incisive, and highly intelligent book in a field where writing is too often official or irresponsibly polemical.

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Mr. Howe is a brilliant young critic; Mr. Widick is a chief steward at the Chrysler plant; and their collaboration combines a high level of political and social insight with intimate practical familiarity with life in the orbit of the assembly line. I am sorry that they did not pay more attention to U. A. W. achievements in labor education; and they might well have looked at the men around Reuther—Don Montgomery is mentioned once, Paul Sifton not at all. But on the whole they do justice to the varied facets of the remarkable U. A. W. record. The book supplies hope not only about the future of trade unionism in America but also about the future of writing about trade unionism in America.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

## Miss Cather as Critic

*WILLA CATHER ON WRITING.* Alfred A. Knopf. $2.25.

THIS slender collection of occasional or incidental pieces, appreciatively prefaced by Stephen Tennant, contains the sum of Willa Cather's critical writing. Her ideal of fiction she once phrased as "the novel *démeublé*." "Furnishing" in fiction was anathema to her—reportage, documentation, the slice of life, the direct transcript of reality, no matter how brilliant; and her criticism is a very persuasive projection and defense of her own practice as a novelist. Its theme is the superiority of an art that prefers the recollected to the immediate impression and purity of line to bulk or mass, that asserts the greatness of the small and the quiet and the completely achieved. She tailors even Balzac to fit her prepossessions, and her preface to Defoe's "The Fortunate Mistress" is a deadly reckoning with the grandfather of naturalism.

Four of the essays are interesting accounts of the genesis of some of her own novels, and her appreciations of other writers—Stephen Crane, Katherine Mansfield (characteristically the Katherine Mansfield of the childhood-in-New Zealand stories), and Sarah Orne Jewett—are of figures whose qualities she felt in one way or another as akin to her own. Once, in Escapism, she resorts to direct polemic, not too happily, for the tone is a little thin and shrill. But if literary fashion has now come round to the point she there makes against the sociological critics, she would have felt herself no more at home in the contemporary age. In the charming preface to the collection she edited of Sarah Jewett's stories the three American books she names as most probably destined to a long life are "The Scarlet Letter," "Huckleberry Finn," and "The Country of the Pointed Firs." This was written in 1925, but one can be sure that if she were aware of our present laborious wrestlings with James and Melville she would not budge an inch from her third choice.

One disputes the fundamental point, of course, but one does not do so lightly. "Art is a concrete and personal and rather childish thing after all . . ." she wrote in Light on Adobe Walls, "a game of make-believe, of reproduction, very exciting and delightful for people who have an ear for it or an eye for it . . . too terribly human to be very 'great' perhaps." One doesn't quite say amen—there is something suspect in her evasion of "greatness." But one almost does.

Willa Cather's criticism is the record of an artistic sensibility that knew perfectly its own direction and believed in it thoroughly, which is a phenomenon that always commands respect. Like her novels, too, her criticism has an impeccable distinction of style—it is a criticism *démeublé*, uncluttered by jargon or pedantry, uncontaminated by extraneous "ideas"; what wouldn't one give for a great deal more critical writing like this that doesn't grunt or sweat? Its limitations are obvious, but its central virtue—its complete truth to the range and character of its creator's talent—is rare, and these little pieces speak with an authority out of all proportion to their fewness and the narrowness of the ground they cover.

HOWARD N. DOUGHTY, JR.

## Story of the Cults

*THESE ALSO BELIEVE.* A Study of Modern American Cults and Minority Religious Movements. By Charles S. Braden. The Macmillan Company. $6.

A BRAVE man is Charles Samuel Braden, professor of the history and literature of religion at Northwestern. In this book he forthrightly tackles one of the most highly controversial subdivisions of the perennially controversial subject of religion—that is, the modern religious cults, by which Dr. Braden means "any religious group which differs significantly in one or more respects as to belief or practice from those religious groups which are regarded as the normative expressions of religion in our total culture."

The author, who calls himself an "unrepentant liberal," is an ordained clergyman and a lifelong Methodist and must be getting what Eddie Guest would call "a heap o' mail" these days. He has described thirteen major and eighteen minor cults—these last in the Appendix—ranging from the peace movement of Father Divine to the Oxford Group movement, with New Thought, Christian Science, and Mormonism en route.

One shudders to think of those letters written in long hand on both sides of the stationery of Los Angeles hotels, or the more business-like communications with a Boston postmark which are jamming up Dr. Braden's mailbox. For next to Communists and Single-Taxers, cultists are the readiest of letter-writers.

In the old days, though, as Dr. Braden says, "it is no longer stressed," M. A. M. played a considerable role in the Christian Science movement. This was Malicious Animal Magnetism, used by enemies of the Scientists to put a hex on the true believers. To counteract this, Scientists would "take up" the practitioners of this black art. Dr. Braden leaves it to his readers to brood about the meaning of "taking up." From here, the sound of typewriters in the big Boston publishing house of the Scientists across the way from the Mother Church is thunderous. For the author suggests that "so long as Christian Science chooses to rest the case for its general teaching on the person of Mrs. Eddy it is sure to run into trouble." He then tells the by now familiar story of the

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rise of Mary Baker Eddy, even bringing in the Phineas P. Quimby phase of that amazing woman's career, and intimates that the attempts of the Scientists to suppress unfavorable Eddy biographies have not been successful. (An occupational census of the Hub would reveal that censoring and suppressing has become once more the town's major industry as it was in the days of the Puritan persecutions.)

The author treats each cult with a dead-pan objectivity and what seems to the layman a bending backward to be fair. Still, his book makes lively reading and should prove a gold mine to sociologists, to say nothing of the editors of *Pravda*. Of the cult called Psychiana, concerning which Dr. Braden says, "Literally millions of people have read [its advertisements headed 'I Talked with God'] and been moved at least to inquire further about what it offered," the author makes the usual amiable admonition that it has helped "many people in many ways" and that while they might have got help from the regular churches they just didn't. Instead, they went to Frank B. Robinson, founder and Archbishop of Psychiana, which is a legal corporation enjoying all the rights and liberties given to other religious groups under the laws of Idaho, where it was incorporated. Like most of the other founders with the exception of Father Divine—who, you will recall, during the Browder epoch was the central figure in a Communist May Day parade in New York—the Archbishop has written a book in which the central tenets of the faith are set forth. The Psychiana bible is called, "Blood on the Tail of a Pig." In it the Archbishop tells about his talks with God and the miracles he has performed under divine inspiration. One day Mr. Robinson was sitting in what he calls his "study" when he heard a slight noise in the next room. "He thought," writes Dr. Braden, " 'It is one of our goldfish which has flipped out the bowl on to the floor.' " And so it was. The Archbishop stopped and clapped his hands and commanded, "Get back into that bowl." Instantly the fish was back again in the bowl. "The fish," concluded Mr. Robinson, "could do nothing else than obey me, for God is in this house tonight." Then there is another story which might interest you about the Archbishop's dog, Ching, who went bounding through two closed doors.

The story of many of these cults is genuinely touching inasmuch as it indicates the discontents of great cross-sections of our fellow-Americans with the sort of religious and cultural orthodoxy that is offered them. Higher-bracketed mental healers in the Park Avenue couch-and-notebook set may lift condescending eyebrows when they read about Psychiana, the "I Am" movement, and the like, but on closer reading they may be startled to discover that many techniques of the cultists are merely low-brow adaptations of their own analytic methods. Instead of scrambled Greek, the cultists go for jargonized Hindu; the complete surrender of the disciple is demanded; with the exception of Father Divine, the cooperative Mormons, and good old Frank Buchman's Oxford Groups, now streamlined into Moral Rearmament, most of the cults are individualistic, introverted, and asocial. Many of them stress the confessional, dreams, and sex, and ignore environment, economics, and common sense. There is one cult, however, that Park Avenue will take seriously. This is the I Am movement. Dr. Braden figures that in seventeen days in Los Angeles in 1938 the Ballards—the late Guy Ballard, head of I Am and a crony of William Pelley of the Silver Shirts, Edna Ballard his wife, who frequently appeared as the reincarnation of Joan of Arc, and Donald the son, "who never even smelled of alcohol" though his wife divorced him—cleaned up $27,000.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

## The Brookings Point of View

*CONTROLLING FACTORS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.* By Harold G. Moulton. The Brookings Institution. $4.

EVER since World War I the Brookings Institution under the leadership of Harold Moulton has striven to enlighten Americans about current economic problems by studies of critical situations. Here Dr. Moulton tries to weave the strands together into a coherent account of the economy as a whole, how it got the way it is, and what its faults and possibilities are. The outcome naturally sharpens the impression created by the publications of the institution. In general, there appears a marked contrast between the work of the first fifteen years and that which has followed.

The international studies after the first war revealed the contradictions of American policy with regard to foreign debts and reparations and showed the insecure basis of the world economy; they have in general been confirmed by hindsight. Moulton was one of those who anticipated Keynes in pointing out that money saved was not necessarily invested, and that this was a critical factor in business fluctuations. He tries, not altogether successfully, to differentiate his position from that of Keynes and prove it is sounder. The major analyses of income, prices, and production in the 1920's, and their contribution to understanding of the subsequent depression, though subject to much criticism, have remained highly suggestive.

But beginning with the New Deal the publications of the institution seemed in many ways more slanted on the side of conservative interests. There can be little disagreement with Moulton's emphasis on the importance of increased productivity and on the fact that mass purchasing power must grow as productivity grows, preferably by reduction of prices, if there is to be sufficient incentive to investment. Yet his book makes little contribution to the problem of how policy may further this

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objective. The conclusions always seem to fall on the side of refraining from anything that may offend big business, no matter what business may do or not do. There is no demonstration that our economy, if left to be self-regulating, is either competitive enough or intelligent enough to keep progress going or avoid severe depressions. The sharpness of attack characteristic of Brookings's early years has been dulled. One comes away with the impression that recently it has even ceased to recognize the more critical areas of weakness.

GEORGE SOULE

# Verse Chronicle

THESE four, I suppose, can be considered as younger poets; three of the four are presenting their second books; one, I believe, his first.

"Annie Allen," by Gwendolyn Brooks (Harper, $2.50), both in form and content, in strength and weakness, resembles a good deal the author's first book, "A Street in Bronzeville." Where the subject is the Negro people, or the Negro person, Miss Brooks has gone considerably beyond some of the quaint and for-tourists-only self-consciousness that at times made one a little uncomfortable in reading her first book. Her weakness lies in streaks, as it were, of awkwardness, naivete, when she seems to be carried away by the big word or the spectacular rhyme; when her ear, of a sudden, goes all to pieces. The first two sections of the present collection contain much more of this kind of work than does the third. Her strength consists of boldness, invention, a daring to experiment, a naturalness that does not scorn literature but absorbs it, exploits it, and through this absorption and exploitation comes out with the remark made in an entirely original way, not offhand so much as forthright. Miss Brooks, by now, must realize that the greatest danger to her progress lies in the risk of her being taken up; she needs to be both very inquisitive about, and very remorseless to, her weaker side.

Francis Golffing's "Poems, 1943-1949" are issued in a limited edition of 250 copies by the Cummington Press, nicely got up, as is usual with that outfit, and rather expensively priced at $2.75 the copy for the forty-two paper-bound pages. Mr. Golffing's main reliance is the ironic twist: at his best he is fine, precise, witty—

> What lightning from the blue
> Will blast this mess of fears?
> The poet's *je m'en fous*
> Reverberates in my ears.

At his not so good he is finicking, mannered—the trick, for instance, of splitting a word between the end of one line and the beginning of the next is overworked—inclined to force in a theatrical way a point that steady observation discloses as really and after all quite pointless, only a stunt.

"The Metaphysical Needle," by Madeline Gleason, is also issued in a limited edition, 483 copies, by the Centaur Press in San Francisco, price, $2.50. You also get for your money block-print illustrations, colored yellow, blue, black, and white, by Hal Goodman. These seem to me arty-irrelevant; but I could be fooled about such matters. This book, too, is handsomely got up; it seems a pity that the content could not have been a little more worthy of the form. One intense dramatic lyric, Rebirth, is about all; for the rest Miss Gleason appears to have profound convictions in favor of life and love, and something of a personality comes through the awkward writing, which can be very awkward indeed—for instance:

> But personal love can never give
> The sole incentive by which we live.
> Although it pacifies, relaxes,
> One does not turn upon its axis . . .

Harry Brown, in "The Beast in His Hunger" (Knopf, $2.50), is by no means an awkward writer; on the contrary, a very slick and competent performer indeed. Mr. Brown used to be a very funny fellow; in these poems he is solemner than owls.

> Silence has fallen on the centaur's wood
> Where the mad king talked twittering with the birds,
> Peace has come to the river that ran with blood.
>
> The armies all have sunk into the sand.
> The monarch, the cold magician have lost their eyes;
> Corroded the brazen scepter, broken the wonderful wand . . .

Very much of that sort of thing; not anybody can do it, but Mr. Brown can, all too easily. The total impression left is that of emotion, perhaps genuine but so current as to be suspect, expressed in a fashionable patter that sufficient repetition reveals for the dead verbalizing it is. Perhaps the trouble is that Mr. Brown is being too universatile. I swear to God that's what it says on the jacket his poetry has. Universatility.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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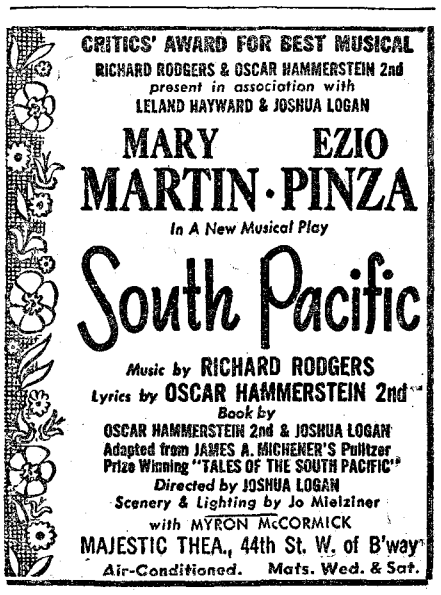
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# Records

B. H. HAGGIN

BRUNO WALTER has recorded for Columbia a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony which tells us more about Bruno Walter than about Beethoven's symphony. It tells us, that is, of the worsening of the tendencies so accurately described by the observation attributed to Toscanini a number of years ago—"When Walter comes to something beautiful he melts"—and by the observation of another German conductor to me: "Walter always had a rhetorical nature." These tendencies have developed into a softness and slackness that is intolerable—except to Germans for whom his performances today are a means of sentimentally recalling the golden age in Berlin—in the music of Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven. Any symphony of Beethoven, but especially the Ninth, and above all its grim

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first movement. I can conceive of that movement being taken at as slow a pace as Walter's; in fact I retain an impression of a performance by Muck in 1929 in which the movement went just so deliberately. But in this deliberateness there was a steadiness, a controlled power, which built up the cumulative force this movement must have; whereas Walter cannot complete even the first statement of the tremendous opening theme without an expansively rhetorical retardation, and cannot let the climax of the entire opening section subside without slackening in tempo as well. Nor is this sort of thing less damaging when it occurs in the variations and the alternating section of the slow movement, and in the finale.

The orchestra in the performance is the New York Philharmonic, the chorus is the Westminster Choir, the soloists are Irma Gonzalez, soprano, Elena Nikolaidi, contralto, Raoul Jobin, tenor, and Mack Harrell, baritone; and it isn't always certain what is defective playing or singing and what is defective recording in the 78 r.p.m. set I have heard (MM-900, 8 12″). I think I can say that the tone and inflection of the solo horn in the trio of the scherzo movement are poor, and the proclamations of the brass in the coda of the slow movement (end of side 10) are raucous; and on the other hand that the over-all recorded sound, while clear and spacious, is too sharp in the upper range, that right at the start the horns sound closer than the violins, that the introductory measures of the scherzo, the first time, are too weak (they are right when the scherzo is repeated), and that with the volume set at the proper level for the orchestra, in the finale, the solo voices and chorus are ear-piercingly loud and unpleasant. But I can't be sure how much of the screaming of the chorus, the acidulous and explosive (in the first quartet of the soloists) singing of Gonzalez, the tight and explosive singing of Jobin is the too-close microphone and how much is the chorus, Gonzalez, and Jobin. And there is the same uncertainty about the noisy confusion in the opening orchestral outburst of the finale, the explosive drumbeats in the second variation of the slow movement, the confused noise without force (possibly leveled off by the recording) at the beginning of side 3. And in my copy two sides of the slow movement waver in pitch.

From RCA Victor comes a new recording of Beethoven's Fifth made by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony: the first movement a little deliberate, but straightforward, with two Koussevitzky imprints—the interminably drawn-out oboe cadenza, and the retarded quiet passage just before the end; the second movement too slow for *Andante con moto*; the scherzo too slow for *Allegro*, and ending with another Koussevitzky imprint—the slow tempo for the transition to the finale and for the opening of the finale—all this slowing up for emphasis resulting in wearying ponderousness. The sound from the 78 r.p.m. records (DM-1313, 4 12″) is too sharp, and afflicted with terrific reverberation.

In the Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony performance of Wagner's Overture to "The Flying Dutchman" there is the same excessive slowness in the passages referring to Senta. But this time the sound from the 78 r.p.m. record (12-0958) lacks the brilliance of the violins, which cannot even be heard in the big tuttis.

What Haydn's Symphony No. 73 ("La Chasse") is like when it is played effectively I have yet to learn. From Sevitzky's performance with the Indianapolis Symphony—heavy, crude in rhythm and phrasing—I get the impression of a dull work, except for the finale. But that performance is excellently reproduced by the 78 r.p.m. records (DM-1312, 3 12″).

## *CONTRIBUTORS*

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, drama critic of *The Nation*, is the author of "The Twelve Seasons."

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ROLFE HUMPHRIES has just published a new book of verse, "The Wind of Time."

# Letters to the Editors

## Can Generals Solve a Political Problem?

*Dear Sirs:* The recent appearance of the leaders of our armed forces in the forefront of the political scene, even if only because of its novelty in any nation except a Hitlerian Germany, calls for close examination by every United States citizen. True, being great soldiers, sailors, and airmen, they should be able to solve any problem put to them in terms of military strategy. But the State Department is losing completely its sense of perspective and helping to confuse the American people into losing theirs when it uses generals and admirals to solve not a military problem but a political problem. What is happening is this: Secretary of State Acheson, to support the Atlantic Pact and arms-for-Europe program—policies which the Truman Administration has advocated—is asking our high military officers a question. Upon the answer to this question foreign policy is to be shaped. Behind the prestige of those who answer the question the Administration can hide from serious criticism. The question is: Are we strong enough *militarily* to destroy communism? Could these officers, if worth their salt, make any reply except "Yes, we can undoubtedly inflict complete military defeat upon it if you give us power and authority to organize and coordinate allied forces, and if you give us plenty of money"?

The fact that this is a *defense* measure is really of no consequence, as the State Department well knows. Soviet armies will probably not march across the borders of independent nations, unless attacked first or "invited." It is unnecessary for them to do this and is contrary to the Marxist-Leninist theory to which they are so tightly bound. If there is a war, we know very well that we shall be forced to begin it. It will be due to the loss of national faith in democracy in some nations allied to us that nations will be "conquered" by the U. S. S. R. from within.

If that is the case, why does the State Department parade the high brass before Congressional committees at this time? Their advice is not competent for the formation of our basic foreign policy in a world struggling for peace, not war. The war will only come as a result of the failure of a *political* pro-

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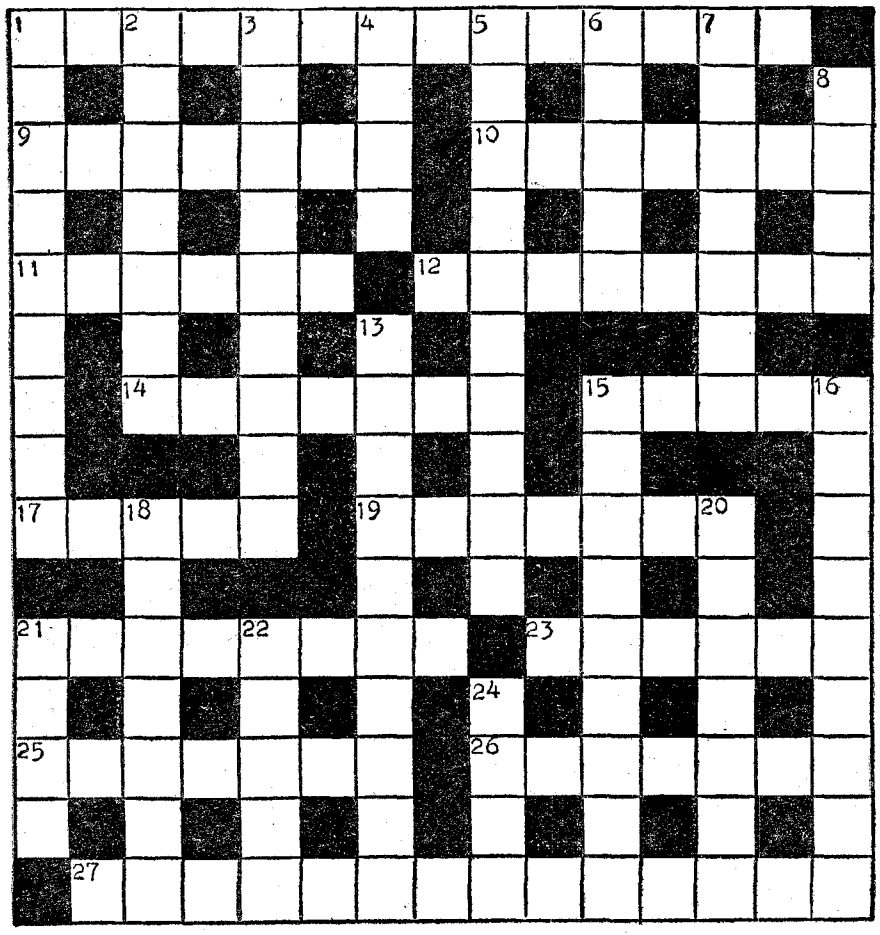
# Crossword Puzzle No. 329

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Certainly not an afternoon get-together. (7, 2, 5)
9 and 16 Early hair-do? (7, 2, 7)
10 Soporific. (7)
11 Il Duce figured rather prominently. (6)
12 Body oil era? (8)
14 Listen a bit for a change. (7)
15 Cannabis? Not again, but still flowering. (5)
17 Bonded. (5)
19 Must his be a broken neck? (7)
21 One's carriage shows a painful expression when barely surrounded. (7)
23 Clippings from Billy from overseas. (6)
25 Stephen seems to have a short time at the old city. (7)
26 Goldsmith was also a sculptor. (7)
27 He was responsible for the first two clues. (6, 8)

## DOWN

1 Canadian perennial? (5, 4)
2 What you get when you hear a cheer? (7)
3 It's barely started, yet I detain it. (9)
4 The British general was not necessarily green. (4)
5 Crookedness. (10)
6 Result of birth of a Nation, perhaps. (5)
7 Polish, and shows it on the keyboard. (7)
8 There's no point to an oyster. (4)
13 Ride in this? It's broken and cut off. (10)
15 Ordinary rule? ((6, 3)
16 See 9
18 It's hot, dry, and dusty. (7)
20 His wail is in a different tongue. (7)
21 One of those who had a meeting at Rye. (4)
22 Loose. (5)
24 The beetle which never went to college? (4)

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 328**

ACROSS:—1 TAKES STOCK; 6 ASIA; 10 CURACAO; 11 OCULIST; 12 CABOOSES; 13 ETHIC; 15 ROSES; 17 EPHEMERAL; 19 MAJOR SUIT; 21 BESET; 23 FISTS; 24 VANZETTI; 27 CHIMERA; 28 RANIER; 30 ODONTALGIA.

DOWN:—1 TACK; 2 KOREANS; 3 SACCO; 4 TROUSSEAU; 5 and 29 CROSS-EYED; 7 SLITHER; 8 ARTICULATE; 9 QUEEN MAB; 14 PRIMA FACIE; 16 STRESSED; 18 HIT-AND-RUN; 20 JUSTICE; 22 SITTING; 24 VIAND; 25 ELIZA; 26 ARIA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

gram. It is with this that Mr. Acheson is charged and for which the American people hold him responsible.

Naturally at this time he is fighting for his life to retain prestige in Europe, where he made commitments to many nations to bring them into the Atlantic Pact. We can sympathize with his present preoccupation to keep promises. However, after his recent declaration of policy we also have a right to expect that he will cooperate in bringing about "an informed and critical public" from whom he can obtain the strongest support in working out a long-range political program in the international sphere. More certain than the fact, which has yet to be proved, that we cannot live as free people in the same world with the Communists is the fact that apparent victory over them in another war will leave us more insoluble problems than we now face. To present a remilitarized Europe as a deterrent to Russian armies which have no early, foreseeable need to move westward is hardly more than a dangerous prank as a substitute for a foreign policy. If the military forces of Western Europe are to be more than a provocative, internal police machine, whose purpose is to beat down communism within a nation, the expense in men and money will be staggering. Their cost to its economy will be completely frustrating to recovery by 1955 or 1960, when our experts say Russia might be ready itself to launch an aggressive war. According to Marxist-Leninist theory, which the State Department is forever quoting to prove its case, no revolutionary war will be started by Russia until the victim is ripe.

We helped Nationalist China to become ripe. Let us not be ashamed to look for a more promising policy instead of extending over other areas of the world a more exaggerated form of one which of necessity failed.

THOMAS RIDGWAY MACY, JR.

New York, September 7

## The Afghanistan Story

*Dear Sirs:* In your issue of September 3 there appears a letter from the Pakistan embassy mentioning my country. It is my duty to throw light on some of the statements contained in that letter.

The Pakistan embassy spokesman states that ". . . the interesting fact that Afghanistan itself was in that distant past a province of the Mogul empire has been quietly slurred over." There is no doubt that for a short period the Moguls ruled Afghanistan and that Baber, who founded the Mogul empire,

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used Kabul as his capital. But this period was one of continuous wars, and the Mogul emperors never succeeded in subduing the Afghans. History of the distant past does not start with the Moguls. For five centuries before the Mogul empire the ruling dynasties—Ghaznawi, Ghori, Lodi, and Khilji—were all Afghan. Nor does history start with the Afghan empire of Ghazni. However, this would seem a more pertinent starting point, since it was this era which saw the introduction into India by the Afghans of the Islam religion—which religion provided the sole justification for the creation of Pakistan.

The Pakistan embassy spokesman also refers to the answer given by the British to the Afghans in connection with their claim for the independence of Pukhtunistan. This answer was given at Landi Kotal on April 29, 1947, by the Viceroy of India in addressing the tribal clans of the Khyber Pass: "The British government is leaving India in June, 1948; it is up to you to negotiate agreements with the successor authority."

As for the forced referendum held in the Northwest Frontier Province, here is the statement made by Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan on June 21, 1947:

Recent developments have placed great difficulties in our way. . . . A referendum will be held in the Northwest Frontier Province, where the only alternative before the electors of the present Legislative Assembly will be whether to join the Indian Union Constituent Assembly. We cannot vote as we want to vote for a free Pathan state. In these circumstances we are convinced that we cannot associate ourselves with this referendum, but this does not mean that we should sit still. A new struggle has been forced upon us. However, I wish that even at the eleventh hour Jinnah had recognized the justice of our position and refrained from dividing the Pathans [Pakhtuns] from the Pathans.

More than 50 per cent did not vote. The decision of the tribal jirgahs was to hoist the flag of independent Pukhtunistan.

It is to be hoped that in the future Pakistan will neither attempt to distort the historical facts nor to ignore the legal right of millions of people to be free, as they have always been. I wish the American public to bear in mind that Afghanistan is backing the cause of independent Pukhtunistan but has no intention of rejoining this territory, as the will of the people is to have their own independent government.

RAHMAN PAJVAK, Secretary,
Ambassade Royale d'Afghanistan
Washington, September 7


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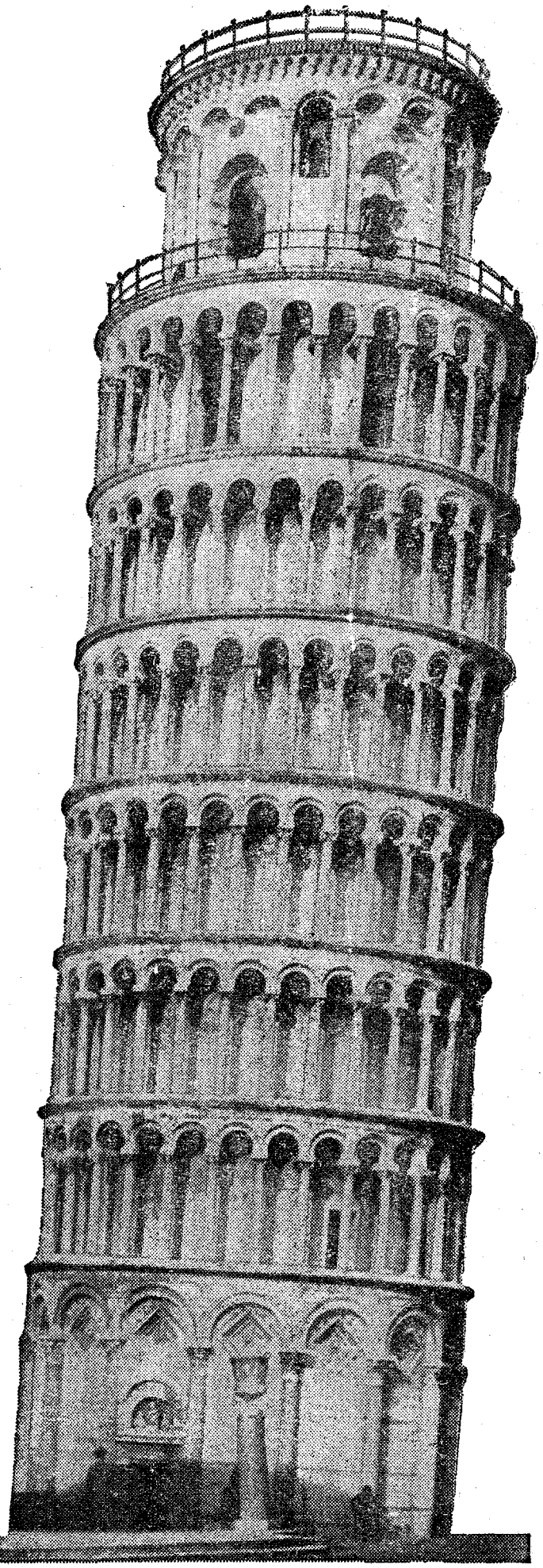

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